1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

Dances Associated with War

535
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The term "war dance" has been so loosely used in the literature that it is sometimes difficult even to determine whether a particular ritual precedes or follows a battle. More subtle differences are even less frequently reflected in the accounts. However, several patterns may be tentatively isolated in the Plateau: (1) a dance seeking supernatural protection or prediction of success; (2) a dance of incitement; (3) a parade dance in solicitation of recruits; (4) a dance by the women during a war party's absence; (5) a processional dance by the returning war party after a victory; (6) a victory dance in the home camp.

The above is a conceptual classification, not an historical one. Relations of the latter nature will appear in the discussion.

The dance seeking supernatural aid or protection, or the supernatural prediction of success or failure, is spread from the Carrier to the Klamath along the western edge of the Plateau. It is described by Teit for the Thompson and western Shuswap:

> Before departing the [Shuswap] warriors held a war dance similar to that customary among the Thompson Indians. The war shaman sang alone, and danced in a circle, moving against the sun. He prayed in his song for success of the party, and that their enemies might become as women. When he had finished his shaman's song and incantations, the war chief, decorated in feathers and war-paint, joined him and struck up his war-song. Then all of the warriors followed and danced in a circle, moving in a direction against the course of the sun, singing, and dashing their spears to each side and praying that they might thus easily kill their enemies.

Besides such activities as these, various semi-magical means were used to determine specific details regarding the enterprise. A rather elaborate procedure was followed by the Shuswap:

> All the men put contributions of dried fish in a pile, some giving more, and others less. Then the shaman cut up all the fish, and distributed the pieces to the warriors, who sat in a circle, making the rounds in the direction opposite to the sun's course. Each warrior had to receive an equal number of pieces, without any being left over. If the shaman did not succeed in making an even division, he took the fish back, placed them in a heap, and covered them with a blanket. He retired to a spot a short distance away, danced, and sang, facing the pile, and using his shamanistic power to make the division come out even the next time. If he failed four times in this division of the war provisions, it was considered a bad omen, and the party did not start.[77]

[77] Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 611, see also p. 543; see Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 356.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

535
726
787

An identical account of prediction ritual was given to me by the Fraser River Shuswap adjacent to the Carrier, but the latter tribe does not share the practice, nor do any other Plateau tribes, as far as I could ascertain. This procedure smacks strongly of the Coast and it is hardly to be doubted that this was its ideological source. But the more specific Coast practices of prediction by counting mistaken steps of dancers or examining the hands for blood are found only among the Carrier, where, it will be recalled, shamans are war leaders.

Lillooet dances for supernatural aid are very similar, but are held after the party has departed.[78]

Southward, among the Wishram, the same objectives are sought, but dreams play a prominent role:

> A war dance took place before dawn of the first night of the expedition, in which dreams prefiguring the conflict were related. "We dreamt that we all became covered with blood. And then in the morning our chief said: 'Now do you make a fire and I shall tell you something.' So then we got up from bed, and then we took hold of [notched rasps]. And then we sang, now strongly we sang. And then the hero said: 'Now I shall tell you people what I dreamt. Now this day we shall die. I have seen the Paiutes. If we are to see them, it will rain.' Thus said the hero. And again we sang rubbing the [notched rasps] together. And again one man said: 'Now I shall tell you what I, for my part, dreamt. A grizzly bear ran away from us toward the setting sun. And then we caught only the grizzly bear's son. Thus did I dream.' And the people yelled their war-whoop."[79]

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And again, among the Klamath, a similar pattern is encountered. A preparatory performance

> is an indispensable preliminary to a raiding party. It can hardly be styled a war dance, as it is doubtful that it contains any true dance form. It is held in the open for from one to three nights depending on the size of the group engaged. It consists essentially of two things, mimicry of an onslaught by the warriors and prevision of their success by a shaman.[80]

Spinden writes of the Nez Percé that,

> In the ancient War dance there were two lines of dancers and a leader. Time was kept by rubbing a round stick up and down over a notched stick sewed to a stiff piece of hide. The songs were individual, as were those of the Scalp dance and the Guardian Spirit dance, and apparently were very much

[78] Teit, *Lillooet Indians*, p. 235.
[79] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 229 f.
[80] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 29 f.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

535
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like them. . . . It is evident that the warriors sang songs according to the nature of their guardian spirits.[81]

Among the Coeur d'Alêne the dance held before going to war originally seems to have been the same as the war dance performed by the Thompson and northern Salish tribes, and similar to an older form in vogue among the Nez Percé. In later days the steps of the dance and some other details were modified, probably under the influence of the Flathead and eastern tribes. In the old form the guardian spirit element was more pronounced than in the modern form, which lacks this element almost entirely. It seems also that the oldest form of the dance was to a greater degree imitative of battle than the modern dance, which is reduced more to a set form for all dancers, and allows less freedom of action to the individual.[82]

It is somewhat doubtful that the change was a gradual one; more probably it was a substitution, since quite different notions lie behind the two dances. The old form involved sweating, the solicitation of aid from guardian spirits, and a dance sequence which was essentially of a wishful type, the imitation of a successful encounter. The later form was the incitement dance, the second type above. The procedure is much more highly formalized, as Teit points out. But more important are these facts: it does not involve guardian spirits or magic; it is not a plea for success; it does not include war antics or simulation of battle; it is, as the name implies, a dance of incitement, a type of physically intense group activity in which emotional tone is built up to a feverish pitch.

This interpretation is supported by statements of the Nez Percé as reported by Spinden:

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Little could be learned about the ancient War dance of the Nez Percés. In the early part of the eighteenth century it was abandoned and the War dance of the Crow Indians substituted. The warriors of the Nez Pérce tribe crawled up to the Crow camps under cover of darkness and learned the songs of their War dance. The first War dance obtained from the Crows was later replaced by another. In this later dance, syllables, not words, were used.[83]

This imported dance of incitement spread to the Umatilla, Yakima, Columbia, and perhaps even farther. Since its adoption it has undergone considerable modification, both through local specialization and continued borrowing of isolated elements from the Plains war complex,

[81] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, pp. 264 f.
[82] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 187.
[83] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 264.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

122
535
721
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particularly in the matters of regalia and drumming. It has thus come definitely to be a Plateau ceremonial in organization and execution; it does not closely parallel any specific Plains dance.

It has also become specialized in function. The dance persists strongly to this day; obviously it is no longer a "war dance" in function. Instead it has come to be a purely social dance, and still more formalized than earlier. Even with its new interpretation, however, it is not danced by the Sanpoil, Teit to the contrary.[84]

The third dance type, wherein volunteers for a war party are solicited, includes a processional as well as a dance. It is found only in the eastern and southeastern Plateau. Among the Coeur d'Alêne, when war was decided upon

> the chief (?) took a blanket and beat time on it with a short stick, at the same time singing a war song. Others took hold of the blanket and did likewise, joining in the song. The party turned around slowly in a circle contra-sunwise as they sang. Each who joined by taking hold of the blanket pledged himself as a member of the war party. . . . If an individual decided to go to war and wanted companions he took a robe and beat time on it with a short stick. He sang his war song, stopping in front of every lodge. Those who wanted to join took hold of the robe and sang and beat time with him.[85]

Spinden writes of the Nez Percé:

> A portion of the ancient War dance which was not discarded was the Farewell song of the warriors before every lodge on the night before going on the war-path. The men went from lodge to lodge and paused before each, singing a song and beating time on a buffalo-hide blanket. There were many different songs employed. The women followed behind and joined in the chorus.[86]

Spinden is almost certainly wrong in interpreting this dance as ancient, or as a farewell. In describing the Plains war complex, Smith states,

> A war dance was held in order to obtain the volunteers of whom the war party was composed. This dance was directly instigated by the prospective leader of the expedition. It might be simple in character, such as the offer and acceptance of a pipe or a march in which the volunteers took part, or the dance might be elaborate. In either case the enlistment of the warrior was sealed by his performance of the prescribed act.[87]

[84] Teit, *loc. cit.*
[85] *Idem*, p. 188.
[86] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 265.
[87] Smith, *War Complex*, pp. 449 f.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

177 This dance for volunteers is shown to be widespread in the Plains
535 and well integrated in the complex. It undoubtedly reached the Plateau
721 at a late date. Spinden's interpretation is apparently the result of native
787 rephrasing in recent days. The dance is still held regularly by the Nez Percé.

In the fourth type of dance associated with war, that performed by the women during the absence of the war party, we suspect influence from the opposite direction, the Coast. Extensive restrictions govern the actions of women on the Coast, not only during warfare, but while men are engaged in hunting. In connection with war, the women's dance is common. In the Plateau it is found only among the Thompson and Okanogan, apparently the result of a diffusion up the Fraser Valley.

[722] While the [Thompson] men were on the war-path, the women performed dances at frequent intervals. These dances were believed to secure the success of the expedition. The dancers flourished their knives, threw long sharp-pointed sticks forward, or drew sticks with hooked ends repeatedly backward and forward. Throwing the sticks forward was symbolic of piercing or fighting off the supposed enemy, and drawing them back was symbolic of drawing their men from danger. . . . If a woman had a husband in the war-party, and she thought she saw hair or part of a scalp on the weapon . . . she knew that her husband had killed an enemy. If she thought she saw blood on the weapon, it was a sign that her husband had been wounded or killed.[88]

Obviously the ideology here is the same as that of the men's dance for prediction and aid.

535 The processional dance of the returning victorious war party car-
727 ries us back to the Plains again for the type picture.

There seems to have been no tribe of the Plains area, with the possible exception of the Arikara, in which the returning war party did not camp outside the village before making its entrance. In part, this was in order to prepare for the dances which followed; in part to make that entrance more impressive. But there can be no doubt that the return of a war party was a ceremonial affair which customarily involved the ushering of the successful warriors into the village by all or some part of those who had remained behind.[89]

When a Coeur d'Alêne war party was victorious the people went out to meet the party and escorted them into camp. The warriors marched with faces blackened and bearing the scalps on the ends of slender poles or on

[88] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 356; cf. Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 293.
[89] Smith, *War Complex*, p. 443.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

their lances. The poles were set up at the houses of the men owning the scalps, where they remained until the scalp dance was performed. 535 727

Similarly, among the Flathead, a ceremonial procession is organized. The warriors sing while approaching and then charge the camp as if it were that of an enemy. They race around the camp circle, during which their camp mates, especially women, attempt to halt them. If stopped, the warrior must make a present to the one responsible. Turney-High attributes this forfeiture of gifts to the victory dance rather than the victory procession, saying:

> In the midst of all his war-honors the scalp-taker was not carefree. The Salish wealth complex obtruded itself into this ceremonial, as the scalp-taker was supposed to make a present to every woman joining in the dance, even of a valuable horse. Ordinarily the warriors were generous enough, since the distribution of gifts in the scalp dance enhanced their prestige.[80] 535 556 727

It is difficult to comment upon such an interpretation without becoming subjective. Not only is the practice of sacrificing gifts in this manner a direct affiliation with the Plains, but no such thing as a wealth complex, Salish or otherwise, exists among the Flathead or any other closely related Plateau group! The most nearly parallel practice is found among the Plains Cree. Speaking of the returning victorious war party, R. Jefferson says,

> They commence their ceremonious entrance into camp. The owners of scalps march in the middle front, bearing their trophies. The others act as a chorus, naming the successful warrior and singing the scalp songs. When the attention of the camp was attracted, all would rush toward them to hear the news. The custom was to rifle the tents of the near relatives of those who brought home scalps; probably with the idea that they were so transported with joy as not to notice the depredation. This was the next step, and all hastened to take what they could lay hands on, so that a returned warrior was often obliged to seek shelter and food in someone else's lodge.[81] 535 727

The Nez Percé probably share the victory procession but this is not certain; it is not practiced by the Umatilla.

The victory dance is the final ceremony of those linked with war. More commonly this ritual is called the scalp dance, but this name is inapplicable where scalps are not taken, or where heads or hair take the place of scalps.

[80] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 189; Turney-High, *Flathead Indians*, p. 63.
[81] Skinner, *Political and Ceremonial Organization*, p. 535.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

535
727

A victory dance deserving of the name is found only in parts of the American Plateau, and among the Kutenai. Informal gatherings occur among the Shuswap and Carrier, and perhaps others, upon the return of a victorious war party, but these are scarcely more than spontaneous expressions of joy. It is interesting that the Shuswap treat the scalp as a guardian spirit and the so-called scalp dance is a simple religious ritual. "It seems that in the scalp dance the dead warrior was addressed in nearly the same manner as a killed bear is" in the bear ceremony, Teit observes.

177
535
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In the American Plateau two historic levels can be seen in the victory ceremony. One level is quite late in time and the ceremony is wholly Plainslike in character. The dance of the earlier period is more typical of the Plateau, but coastal influences are perceptible. This earlier dance is found among the Wishram, Klamath, and Coeur d'Alêne; and, in modified form, the Kalispel. In the time of Alexander Ross (*circa* 1810) the Nez Percé were participating in it. Perhaps they had already adopted the Plains dance and the two existed side by side, as was the case with the Coeur d'Alêne. However it was not long before the Plains dance became the exclusive form with both, as with the Umatilla, Flathead, and Kutenai.

The Wishram victory dance

> took place at night, dancing until the early dawn. The scalps and other human trophies were hung on short poles, six feet in length. Women painted red. The dancers formed a ring, or two or three concentrically, going around as they sang. Those holding scalps had places in the inside ring. Widows of men killed in the battle were placed within the circling dancers, where they mourned, and taking a scalp in each hand beat them on the ground. Thus they had revenge.[92]

No mention is made of captives participating in this dance, but they play an important role in the similar dance of the Klamath.

> The captives are sometimes made to dance inside the circle with the same step; forced to rejoice over their own defeat. . . . They are whipped with the scalp sticks as they dance.[93]

Similarly, among the Nez Percé the captives are made to dance and are severely maltreated by the women. The captives themselves must carry the scalps on poles. The concentric circles are absent here, be-

[92] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 232.
[93] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 34.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

177
535
727

coming parallel lines with the captives between two rows of women, and outside of them rows of men. The Coeur d'Alêne dance was identical, according to Teit.[94]

Several points of contrast with the Plains-type dance may be anticipated. The Plateau type is commonly held at night, though this was not true of the Nez Percé, perhaps because of early Plains influence. In the latter area the dance is typically a daytime affair. Both men and women dance in the Plateau ceremony, but in the Plains-like ritual only the women dance and only the men sing and drum. The Plateau dance is held whether deaths have been suffered or not, and perhaps even when victory is problematical. Furthermore, Klamath women begin the dance by crying, even though no Klamath have been killed. In the Plains, and in Plains-like dances in the Plateau, either of these practices would be inconceivable. Of the Plains dance, Smith asserts:

> Inevitably, the victory dances expressed the group's feeling of triumph and superiority. They were occasions of "wild rejoicings," festivities "to which all came and enjoyed themselves," celebrations of "uninhibited triumph" in which all was "individualism, all exultation and triumph."[95]

Compare with this the Klamath attitude:

> quiet, decorous conduct is expected of those who do not dance, else they would be shot, for at this time the dancers are violent. . . . They fast or at least eat no meat or fish. This is the tabu that the Klamath impose *during every crisis*.[96]

Obviously the one ceremony is conceived and executed in a very different spirit from the other.

Teit provides a description of the Coeur d'Alêne victory dance of the Plains type which well exemplifies that of the general area (Kutenai, Flathead, Nez Percé?, Umatilla?).

> The people assembled in an open space, or, if it was cold weather, in the large dance house. After a short dance by the warriors, into which were introduced actions and gestures in imitation of the experiences of the war party, the war chief related the events of the expedition. He was followed by the warriors who had taken scalps or done deeds of valor, such as counting coup, or being the first to approach close to the enemy. Each recounted his particular exploits and explained in detail the manner in which each enemy had been

[94] Ross, *Fur Hunters*, Vol. 1, pp. 310 f.; cf. Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 266; Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 190.

[95] Smith, *War Complex*, p. 451.

[96] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 33. Italics mine.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

177
535
727

killed. In pauses during the narratives the drummers beat rapid taps on the drum, as if in approbation. They did the same after each notable exploit had been narrated. The people joined in applause and shouting. Meanwhile the women relatives of the warriors, and any others who cared to join them formed themselves into a mimic war party. They elected chiefs, dressed in the clothes of warriors, did up their hair and painted their faces, donned war bonnets, and took up weapons. . . . The chiefs beat the drums and sang the scalp song. The women then danced in a circle against the sun's course and continued for about two hours.[97]

A final word of caution is desirable with regard to war antics as a feature of war dances. Such mimicry is found both in the Plateau and the Plains. But to avoid a false appearance of parallelism, it must be added that in the Plateau such war antics are a feature of the pre-conflict dance for protection and success, whereas in the Plains they characterize the post-conflict victory dance and exclusively represent actual experiences of the encounter just completed. Thus the Plateau performances are essentially a kind of sympathetic magic while in the Plains they are a formalized means of boasting and gloating. Imitative magic is normally absent in the Plains complex, according to Smith, unless the recounting of war deeds be considered such.[98]

GIRLS' PUBERTY OBSERVANCES

841
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Ceremonial recognition is given the girl's attainment of puberty throughout the Plateau. In some parts, however, the observances are scarcely more extensive than those accompanying each subsequent menstrual period. In the Canadian Plateau the ceremonial is quite elaborate, and again among the Klamath, but the two ceremonies belong to quite different patterns. In the north the occasion is primarily one of training while among the Klamath it is a dance of announcement. The Klikitat participate in both traditions but neither is especially elaborated. The nearby Wishram are found at the other extreme; they give only very moderate attention to the period. In this respect they affiliate with all other groups of the American Plateau except the Kalispel. The latter definitely share the northern pattern. The Kutenai likewise share certain details of the ceremony with others in the north, but they stand apart in emphasizing several unique features.[99]

[97] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, pp. 189 f.; cf. Smith, *War Complex*, pp. 447 f.

[98] Smith, *War Complex*, pp. 445, 448.

[99] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 68–70; Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 262.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

753 To repeat, the soul is the human animating force; the spirit is the non-human, extrinsic tutelary.

The soul loss disease concept is provocative in distribution and relationships. It is found generally among the Salish of the Canadian Plateau, and also among the Carrier and Sekani.[63] It is known to the Southern Okanogan in rather anomalous form.[64] But the Kutenai lack it, as do all other peoples of the southern area except the Tenino and Klikitat. These cases are easily explained. By their position and isolation their debt to the Coast is indicated. The northern block likewise derived their beliefs from the Coast with little doubt, but via the Fraser Valley. This statement is justified not only by the distribution but by the phrasing of the notion, which is typically coastal. But why, with streams of influence penetrating on both north and south, did the bulk of the American area remain so unequivocally free of it? Because the infiltration was very recent? It appears recent, but I do not believe this is the explanation, or at least the whole explanation. It is hardly mere coincidence that the distributions of soul loss and spirit loss are almost mutually exclusive. Further, where there is overlapping (in the north: Lower Thompson, Lillooet, Kalispel) there is marked confusion of the two ideas. It appears that in the Plateau the well-developed notion of spirit loss inhibited acceptance of the newer concept of soul loss, so closely parallel conceptually. "Why should we accept the distorted interpretations of foreigners; we already had the belief in true form!" This phrasing reflects very closely the reactions of natives to whom I have cautiously pointed out the concept of their coastal neighbors.

THE WINTER SPIRIT DANCE

Essential Characteristics and Inter-areal Relationships

535 776 796 The Winter Guardian Spirit Dance is the major religious ceremony of the Plateau, dwarfing all other rituals by comparison.[65] It forms an elaborate complex which is readily identifiable. It is a simple matter to ascertain its presence or absence for a particular group, so characteristic is the combination of elements. And yet those very elements, in their individual distributions, are highly variable and carry over first into one, and then another, adjacent area. The inter-areal relation-

[63] Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, p. 72.

[64] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 163.

[65] See Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 189–200; cf. Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 112–18, 266 f.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

535
776
796

ship of these elements between the Plateau and the Plains is considered in the next section. The principal concern here will be intra-Plateau relationships together with certain coastal analogues.

As indicated, the Winter Dance complex does not fade out at the distributional borders but instead stops abruptly. Thus it is present among the Kalispel, absent among the Kutenai; observed by the Okanogan, unknown to the Thompson. Furthermore, the dance of the Klamath and that of a tribe as far distant as the Flathead show many similarities of detail as well as basic likeness. The principal features of the complex may be outlined as follows: recognition of mid-winter as the exclusive and proper period for guardian spirit ceremonialism; specific sponsorship by shaman or one possessing guardian spirit; participation open to all possessing spirits; attendance open to all; spirit singing with individual leadership; spirit dancing with individual leadership; power contests; shamanistic performances; specific duration of several days (usually determined by pattern number); held indoors; dancing at night; feast or presentation of gifts, or both. These are not presented as invariable criteria; indeed, several of the elements enumerated might be omitted without destroying the identity of the complex.

Certain of the features mentioned receive strong emphasis among all groups observing the dance. Spirit singing, dancing, and shamanistic performances are prominent among these. The singing of guardian spirit songs forms the very core of the ceremony, but dances invariably accompany the songs in the complex here observed. Shamanistic performances play a large role among some groups, but among others are of lesser significance. The Klamath dance has been called "The Shamanistic Performance,"[68] reflecting the importance of this aspect, but the Umatilla, not far distant, recognize the performances as but one among many features. Other less fundamental elements vary in like manner from tribe to tribe. But the surprising thing is that they are not more varied, as would be anticipated from other aspects of the cultures. It is this historical fixity upon which emphasis is here placed. The complex, to be sure, is made up of elements of ultimately diverse origin; it is not presented as a single organic unit.

The Spirit Dance in Relation to the Potlatch

Regardless of variant emphasis upon one or another element, the raison d'être of the Plateau dance is invariably clear and unblended. It

[68] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 112.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

431
535
776
796

gifts were limited the upperclassmen were favored, but if there were plenty all received share and share alike! . . . Wealth songs were wholly unknown. Leadership in singing and dancing was limited to those with spirit power; wealth or social status was no substitute. Ceremonial grouping was based on village affiliation, not wealth or lineage. Demonstration of superiority by the hosts and the shaming of guests was limited to such neutral demonstrations as grossness of appetite, and even here the hosts dared not go too far.[73]

Of the Quinault, Olson writes:

Quinault potlatches stand about midway in the scale between the simple wealth displays of the south and the exaggerated and complicated ceremonials of the northern tribes. . . . The fundamental elements are the desire to gain a moderate amount of social prestige—the element of rivalry scarcely enters. The giving of goods is almost as much a privilege or an obligation as the occasion of display of vanity. The feasting and games bulk large in the picture. It is a festival, a "good time" period, with the words of the guardian spirit best expressing its tone and the native concepcion of the institution: "Your had better throw (away) our money now. I would like to see the people enjoy themselves and to hear all the shamans sing their songs."[74]

Though Olson is impressed by the differences between Quinault potlatching and that of the British Columbia coast, the two are much more akin than Quinault and Lower Chinook practices. This fact must be emphasized because geographical relationships are apt to create a wrong impression here. Were I to have encountered practices among the Lower Chinook which even approached those of the Quinault, I would in consequence have argued as vigorously for specific northern connections as I now do for viewing the complex as the result of cultural overlay upon a temporally old and widespread pattern of feasting and gift-giving, linking the Coast and the Plateau.[75]

But let us turn to the Plateau and examine actual practices there. At the Spirit Dance of the Sanpoil,

Practically every person who sang his song and led a dance contributed presents for the distribution on the last day of the dance. When one went to the center pole a relative or helper carried the presents to the spokesman who placed them on a long pole provided for that purpose. Contributing presents was not compulsory, however. Tom [an informant] insisted that those who did not give were not looked down upon. "But it made one feel

[73] Ray, *Lower Chinook*, p. 93.
[74] Olson, *Quinault Indians*, p. 129.
[75] Cf. Ray, *Historical Position*.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

431
335
776
796

better to give something away." Shamans, as a rule, gave more than laymen, and the sponsor of the dance gave most of all. . . . All those who had danced received presents. Those who had danced "hardest and best" were given the best ones. There was no prejudice against strangers in the bestowal. In fact, they were the first to receive presents. If the bulk of goods was very great, small gifts were sometimes presented to those who had not danced.[76]

Regarding the Wishram, we are told that the singers

gave some little things away; a few eagle feathers or some other articles they wore. A singer was not compelled to make gifts, but if he did not, he was classed as cheap, mean-minded, and selfish, and when such a one was hired to cure he was paid less than those who freely gave away their belongings. The belief was that one who gave freely knew that he had a strong spirit, would become a strong shaman when he was ready to practice, would secure the best of pay because he was more certain of a cure. Such a shaman could soon reimburse himself for the cost of these gifts.[76]

In describing the Spirit Dance of the Southern Okanogan, Cline speaks of the gift-giving feature as a "potlatch." However, his data not only belie the name, but are especially pertinent to the present inquiry. The general procedure parallels that of the Sanpoil. Like them, the host gave away more articles than anyone else.

These were a *reward to the people for helping him to control his power*, they were likewise regarded as *gifts to his guardian spirit*. It was believed that the spirit would compensate its generous protégé by a run of luck in gambling or hunting in the following summer. David said that a shaman who received a blanket or other gift at the dance did not feel obliged to make a return gift, for this was like "pay" to him for his singing and dancing, and that the giver regarded the gifts as a simple loss of property for the sake of his power.[77]

The relation is obvious between this point of view and that of the Wishram, as expressed above, but a further parallel appears with Flathead practice. Among the latter the audience does not receive the gifts; they are presented "to the center pole." Turney-High writes that on the last day of the ceremony a

dance is performed before the tree and *prayers to the guardians* are offered. As the night advances each person who has a wish prays and hangs a gift on

[76] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 196, 199. Through a serious typographical error in the original printing the word "not" was omitted in the phrase "were not looked down upon."

[76] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 242.

[77] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 151 f. Italics mine.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

535
776
796
431

is a spiritual ceremony pure and simple; the guardian spirit is the point of reference from whatever aspect viewed. In contrast, the comparable ceremony of the Quinault or Klallam of the Coast exhibits a dual basis, both conceptually and historically. Spirit singing is combined and integrated with the idea of the potlatch; the two cannot be treated separately. Thus, among the Klallam,

> A potlatch which is accompanied either with spirit singing or with a performance of the secret society is called l!a"anuk. This can take place either during the quiet-period or in the summer when the secret society ritual is held. At any of these potlatches there could be another performance of guardian spirit songs, in fact this is looked upon as one of the principal sources of entertainment [!]. If a man's wife or his son dances and sings during an evening's entertainment he will make gifts to all the men of the upper class who are present . . . to create good feeling and to display an individual's wealth.[67]

Of the Quinault we are told:

> In native theory an ordinary potlatch was in a way suggested by a man's guardian spirit. If a man had the "wealth spirit" the spirit would tell him "You had better throw (away) our money now. I (*i.e.*, the spirit) would like to see the people enjoy themselves and hear all the shamans sing their songs."[68]

These examples serve to place in clear relief the essential differences between the Winter Spirit Dance of the Plateau and the Spirit Singing-Potlatch of the Coast. The duality of purpose in the latter area is obvious. Furthermore, all of the following features of the Coast may differ from the Plateau: season, sponsorship, leadership of singing and dancing, nature of singing and dancing, power contests (absent), shamanistic performances (absent), and participation.

The historic diversity of the complexes of the Plateau and the Coast may be shown best by the case of the Lower Chinook. Here at the mouth of the Columbia River, where coastal and interior influences converge, both patterns are represented in clearly distinct forms.

The major religious ceremony is the guardian spirit dance. The time of the yearly dance is determined, to the native mind, by the period of spirit visitations, September until spring. Each dance occupies five days only, but many are held in various parts of Lower Chinook territory during the dance season. Dancers travel from one to another, other activities permitting. The dances are individually sponsored by

[67] Gunther, *Klallam Ethnography*, p. 306.
[68] Olson, *Quinault Indians*, p. 124.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

431
535
776
796

persons with guardian spirit power. The uniform procedure (apart from initiation ritualism) consists of spirit singing and dancing by all of those possessing power. Shamanistic or power performances, though a part of the dance program, seem to be relatively unimportant.[69] In all details this pattern conforms to the outline for the Plateau.

Lower Chinook "potlatches," which are held only in summer or fall, differ in sponsorship, motivation, and program, but emphasize spirit singing and dancing. Despite the differences, the question may arise:

> Why segregate these practices from the guardian spirit performances, since the most specialized feature was spirit singing and dancing? The answer is two-fold: First, the Chinook themselves made a distinction. They seemed to feel that this was a basic and generalized pattern of social activity into which might be fitted any specialized or distinctly categorized procedure. This framework was not essential to the integrity of certain specific practices; as a result the aspects were separable, producing a false impression of analogy. Thus the guardian spirit dance was distinctly fitted into the framework, so well fitted, indeed, that it had become virtually inseparable. But to call one a function or analogue of the other would do violence to native theory.[70]

Objective differences, which constitute the second factor, run fairly parallel to those enumerated above in analysis of Klallam and Quinault practices.

The almost invariable association of gift-giving with the Spirit Dance demands further consideration.[71] Can this be interpreted as an attenuated form of the potlatch? (If so, a "dual purpose" emerges for Plateau as well as Coast, and statements above are contradicted.) I have argued against such an assumption, even from the point of view of the Lower Chinook.

> There exists a real question as to whether it is justifiable to segregate under a separate term those practices having to do with feasting and gift-giving, especially when that term is one as fraught with meaning as the word potlatch. . . . All of the signification of the typical potlatch was absent [in Lower Chinook ceremonialism]. Presents were distributed but return was in no sense obligatory, to say nothing of return with interest. If the supply of

[69] Ray, *Lower Chinook*, pp. 81–83

[70] *Idem*, p. 95; cf. Ray, *Historical Position*, pp. 368 ff.

[71] The Klamath may be the one exception: "One informant said that beside the speaker the dancers were paid for their assistance, but this was explicitly denied by others" (Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 115).

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

431 535 796 796

the tree. . . . When everyone has hung his gift on the tree, the shamans ask if everyone has completed his wish. If so, they give the signal to a chosen man who wraps the tree in a robe as tightly as possible. This done, two youths seize the tree and, rushing down the two lines of dancers, flee with it to the wilderness where they hide it. No one is supposed to find the tree. But if it should accidentally be found, the finder must not touch it or remove any of the offerings or terrific misfortune would overtake him.[78]

The articles presented to the spirits via the center pole are merely tokens, without material value, such as bits of skin, feathers, and the like. This practice carries over into the Plains (see below); the selection of articles may represent a link with the Wishram. But especially interesting is the practice of disposing of the pole, which is paralleled among a number of Plateau groups. The Southern Okanogan, for example, carry the pole to the woods, where it is placed upright against a tree and abandoned.[79]

431 796

We have thus followed gift-giving, as a feature of spirit ceremonies, from the one extreme of the typical potlatch to the other of purely spiritual tokens. One last observation may be added. A Lower Thompson informant explained gift-giving in this way, "The largest gifts are given to the people who have come the farthest from home. You see, it is more expensive for them to make the trip, so they ought to have more."

I cannot feel that these Plateau traits are mere vague reflections of the coastal potlatch. In form and function they differ as indicated. Furthermore, the elaborated potlatch of the northern Coast is probably a relatively recent development. But the gift-giving of the Plateau is deep-seated, locally varied, and undoubtedly old. I dare say that no area in America would fail to show some example of gift-giving as close to the potlatch in form as most of Plateau practices.

And yet I do not argue that the two are historically unrelated. Each seems to be an areal specialization upon a long existing custom of gift-giving; the unique coastal specialization being by far the more elaborate. Furthermore, a certain amount of secondary diffusion of superficial elements has ensued. The ceremonial approach of the Lower Chinook may be cited; also, the formal nature of the distribution among Plateau groups near the Coast.

To be sure, the term potlatch might be applied to this simple sub-

[78] Turney-High, *Flathead Indians*, pp. 40 f. Italics mine.
[79] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 147.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

The Secret Society

535 575 776 796

We have seen that among the Klallam the potlatch may be combined with either spirit singing or secret society rituals, and to either combination the same name is applied. Again, among the Quinault the secret society rituals are sometimes associated with the potlatch.[82] But the Lower Chinook society is cast in the mold of the spirit dance and well integrated with the spirit concept.

> Eligibility to membership depended upon two factors, upper class status and the possession of a "secret society guardian spirit." The latter phrasing merely implied spirit instruction to join the society plus the conveyance of the necessary type of power. Such power was obtained in exactly the same fashion as any other. It consisted of the ability to inflict self-torture, followed by miraculous recovery. . . . The externals of [the initiation of the novice] were identical with the guardian spirit initiation.[83]

These parallels, as well as the absence of the society-potlatch combination, are undoubtedly due to indirect influences from the Plateau. The nature of the Lower Chinook Spirit Dance and much of the guardian spirit complex points to the interior. The Plateau has thus indirectly affected the local form of a typically Northwest Coast institution entirely unknown to it. Even as far northward as the Quinault, the "society" is considered a special kind of spirit, obtainable in the same fashion as any other, but it is not stated that possession of this spirit is essential to membership.[84]

The Spirit Singing of Puget Sound

431 535 776 796

On Puget Sound spirit singing is frequent during the winter season, but available data are insufficient to establish the exact nature of the ceremony, or the structural relationship with the Spirit Dance of the Plateau. The actual spirit singing and dancing follow the Plateau pattern, but whether such activities are ever entirely divorced from the potlatch is uncertain. The latter is fairly well developed in typical form. According to Haeberlin

> The potlatch was a great feast given primarily for the distribution of gifts to the guests. Each person receiving gifts at such an occasion was under obligation to his host to invite him to his next potlatch and to give him an adequate gift in return. . . . If a man received one blanket, at his own potlatch he re-

[82] Olson, *Quinault Indians*, p. 121.
[83] Ray, *Lower Chinook*, pp. 89 f.
[84] Olson, *Quinault Indians*, pp. 120 f.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

431 335 776 796

turned two or three. . . . The sgwē'gwē' ["cultus potlatch" in Chinook jargon: "bad potlatch"] was held in summer when the salmon began to run. It could only be given by a man having the [wealth] spirit and was given in a potlatch house. . . . At this affair everyone tried to show the "power" he had. One man swallowed hot bullets and made them come out at his side.[85]

This indicates intimate relationship between the potlatch and spirit ceremonialism. However, the winter season was set apart for ceremonies specifically revolving around spirit singing.

Any time from the middle of November to the beginning of January a man's guardian spirit came back to him and urged him to sing his spirit songs and perform his dance. . . . Then he would call his friends together and they helped him sing and dance. . . . These dances varied greatly in length, for a man sang as long as his spirit commanded him to do so, often several days. At this dance no shaman was present.[86]

The absence of shamans clearly sets this apart from the Plateau dance, as well as the variable duration and the limitation of sponsorship to those experiencing the return of a spirit. Lummi practices seem to lie intermediate between those of lower Puget Sound and those of the Klallam. But the data are so non-definitive as to prohibit any specific interpretations.[87]

Intra-areal Relations

177 796

Though the Winter Guardian Spirit Dance emerges as a highly typical Plateau complex, it is not found throughout the area. Indeed, as implied above, it is quite as definitely absent in the northern part of the region as in the Plains or on the Coast. It is shared uniformly by all central and southern Plateau groups, namely, the Klamath, Wishram,[88] Tenino, Umatilla, Cayuse, Nez Percé,[89] Yakima, Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Columbia, Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Colville, Spokane, Lakes, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead, Kalispel, and Okanogan. This is the familiar affiliation when a north-south contrast is found. The participation of the Klamath in this distribution is of marked significance since the Spirit Dance is quite unknown to the Basin and California. The sub-area of greatest integration and specialization appears to be the middle Columbia (Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil). This

[85] Haeberlin and Gunther, *Indians of Puget Sound*, pp. 59 f.
[86] *Idem*, p. 61.
[87] Stern, *Lummi Indians*, pp. 54 ff.
[88] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 240–44.
[89] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, pp. 262–64.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

cussion of the Winter Performance was fundamentally different from that adopted here.[90] Spier was interested in indicating the possible Northwest Coast source for certain of the *constituent elements* of the Spirit Dance. He emphasized particularly the season and the repossession by guardian spirits. The soundness of his suggestions is indicated by their unanimous acceptance on the part of subsequent field workers. But here the object has been to place in relief the essential nature of the Plateau complex, not to seek the origin of foreign elements. On the other hand, the indigenous nature of certain elements appears. Indeed, the Northwest Coast trait of possession, especially as a criterion of sponsorship, is found to be atypical (see above).

Associated Practices

A number of closely associated practices demand attention. Initiation of the novice, for example, forms an intimate part of the ceremony among certain groups. Spier points out that

> There are two types of inaugural dance, so far as function is concerned: the demonstration type of Oregon and the control type of northern California. . . . From a wider point of view, the control dance of northern California and the Wishram case link with the southern part of the Northwest Coast proper. A feature of repossession during the winter sacred period of the northern tribes is the overpowering strength of the spirit which makes its possesser "ill" until he is relieved by dancing. . . . This is precisely what is at the bottom of the north Californian control dances, although the sickness is due to an agent of another sort.[91]

The initiation feature is present among all Plateau groups observing the dance except the Flathead and, apparently, the Nez Percé.[92] In a number of cases, however, the routine of initiation is present but no particular function is served beyond that of formal introduction of the novice (Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel, Umatilla, Klikitat ?, and Tenino ?). In all other instances it is essentially the control type, as opposed to the demonstration type of the Klamath. Since the control initiation is found throughout coastal Oregon[93] (bearing out Spier's presumption) the Plateau obviously participates in a far flung trait linking northern California and the Northwest Coast. The logical route of contact with

[90] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 266 f.
[91] *Idem*, pp. 260 f.
[92] It is not mentioned in Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*.
[93] Barnett, *Oregon Coast*, p. 188.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

535
771
796

the Plateau is the Columbia Valley. Along that route the tribes closest to the Coast should exhibit the most clearly the notion of "control." This is true only to a limited extent. The Wishram, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Southern Okanogan, and Sanpoil show equally developed, but locally varied, control concepts.[94] Absence among the Klikitat and Tenino may merely be lack of knowledge. The more distant groups, as anticipated, lack the notion but possess meagerly the form. The Klamath variation is intelligible in view of the route of diffusion. The Klamath demonstration feature is widely found in the Plateau, but in connection with shamanistic performances rather than initiations. The Wishram, however, reflect something of the demonstration idea in the initiation. But the [756] Wishram initiation is held apart from the Winter Dance. Pertinent here is the fact that only the Klamath and Wishram restrict the inaugural dance to those who are to become shamans. Among all other groups the layman is initiated as well, in exactly the same manner as the shaman. Demonstration would not be particularly to the point for the layman.

Identification of man and his guardian spirit is a concept of restricted distribution, typical of the Plateau. A common element of the Spirit Dance is the impersonation of guardian spirits.

Another aspect, far more instructive for a fundamental understanding of the complex, is identification—as opposed to mere impersonation—with the spirit. Identification involves radical and thorough transformation from the normal human state to a condition in which all social relationships are abjured, and activities duplicate, as closely as physical limitations permit, those of the spirit.

Such identification may seem to do violence to the strongly developed duality principle. [As emphasized above, the guardian spirit stands in the relation of a powerful supernatural ally to man, but is not typically identified with him.]To resolve this apparent difficulty it is necessary to recall the native theory of genesis for the guardian spirit. During mythological times there were no human beings; neither were there guardian spirits. But the beings of that time possessed attributes of both. Their physical and psychological differentiæ were those of animals, but for the most part they appeared in the superficial guise of men. The animal form as such was taken only when an emergency demanded. They sought no spirit power since they possessed it inherently. "When people came on earth," it is explained, "these beings

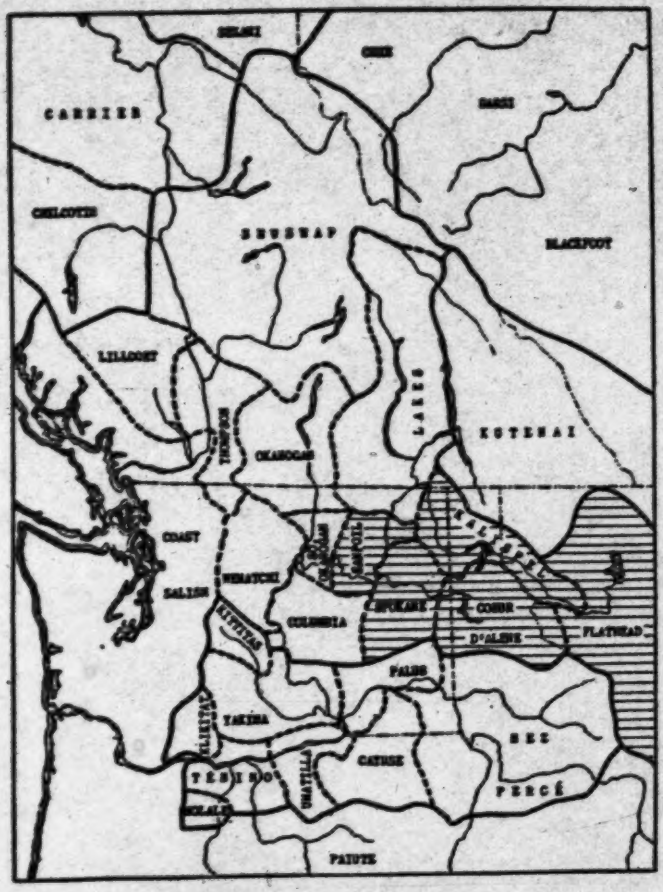
[94] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 240 f.; Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 145 f.; Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 192–94.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

535
771
796

became the spirits." But in the new era the dominant form became that of the animal; the man-like form was taken only when in communion with men. Human beings appeared at the same time, inheriting as their form the prevalent form of the previous beings. But men did not receive the power to reciprocate with their spirits and appear in animal form. This was possible, in modification,

[102]



MAP 17. The Bluejay complex.

only in ceremonial identification. This identification was not an amalgamation or substitution, but a reversion to the conceptualized form of the mythological being.[55]

Such transformation is peculiarly the prerogative of persons with

[55] Ray, *Bluejay Character*, pp. 594 f.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

535 771 796

Bluejay as guardian spirit. These individuals discard normal body covering, paint the face black, talk unintelligibly or not at all, perch in the rafters of the dance house, act as sentries, and must be returned to normal at the end of the dance period by forceful smudging or shamanistic treatment. These and other traits show interesting distributional variations, but these have been treated in the paper quoted and need not be duplicated. The complex is found among the Sanpoil, Colville, Spokane, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alêne, and Flathead. I may add that it is definitely absent for the Kutenai. Since the paper was written I have visited this group and ascertained the fact, then unknown.

535 756 796

Associated with the Winter Dance of the Colville is a special type of power performance which takes place behind a mat or blanket partition separating the performer from the audience. No other group shares this practice as an aspect of the Spirit Dance, but the Kutenai observe it as an individual ceremony. (The Kutenai lack the Spirit Dance.) Our knowledge of the Colville affair comes from a description by Cline, included with his treatment of the Southern Okanogan dance.[98] A brief description of the Kutenai performance will be given here since it is not elsewhere available.

The Kutenai utilize the ceremony for the prediction of future events, particularly in wartime, the finding of lost objects, and the like. The performance serves to bring the spirits into direct contact with the petitioner, thus making available immediate help and advice. The performer need not be a shaman; anyone possessing a spirit is privileged to attempt the contact. A man's particular spirit is the effective agent in establishing the relationship, but that relationship is with the entire spirit world, not merely the individual spirit. The ritual is not a method of demonstrating the strength of one's spirit.

The performance takes place in an ordinary tipi. The suppliant blows steadily on a whistle as he "goes behind the blanket." (The ceremony is called, in colloquial English, "going behind the blanket.") Soon he reappears with his arms behind him, his thumbs tied to his belt. The knots are untied, he returns, and the same procedure is repeated seven times, or until seven knots are tied. Then one end of a long rope is tied around his waist. He goes behind the partition and throws the loose end of the rope over the pole from which the blanket is suspended. Soon the audience sees the entire rope fall, with a small whistle tied

[98] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 152 f.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

535
756
796

to the end. This indicates that the performer has been "cut in two" by the rope; they hear the two parts fall. But the spirits reassemble the halves and the man appears, smokes briefly, and returns. Now the "Owl" carries him away; the flight of the bird may be heard. The sound of a whistle is also audible. This is the performer calling the spirits to take his place. The whistle used is that which was attached to the rope.

During these activities the audience drums and sings spirit songs. Also pipes are prepared and smudging is done. Now those assembled may converse with the spirits. One who so desires lights a pipe and hands it over the blanket. The spirits take seven puffs and return the pipe. If the tobacco is no longer burning misfortune is portended. A second pipe may be requested. The converser inquires directly of the spirits and answers are directly given, but in an unnatural voice. After the spirits have given answers to the questions posed by the audience, the original performer returns, his thumbs once more tied. He is untied and the seance is concluded.

The Colville performance is very closely parallel. Only shamans perform, however, and such power is conveyed solely through the possession of a specific spirit. Objectives of the seance duplicate those of the Kutenai.

This entire performance is foreign in flavor to the Plateau. This fact and its extremely limited distribution marks it as a local development among the marginal Kutenai, or elsewhere beyond the Plateau. Its presence among the Colville is conceivable only as a borrowing from the Kutenai. It is impossible to overlook the strong resemblance that the Kutenai affair bears to the shamanistic seances of the Eskimo.

But even more striking is the similarity to the Djisakid performances of the Ojibwa.[97] A brief quotation from Hoffman will make this clear:

> The Jes'sakkĭd' is a seer and prophet; though commonly designated a "juggler," the Indians define him as a "revealer of hidden truths." . . . The lodge used by this class of men consists of four poles planted in the ground, forming a square of three or four feet and upward in diameter, around which are wrapped birch bark, robes, or canvas in such a way as to form an upright cylinder. Communion is held with the turtle, who is the most powerful man'idō [guardian spirit] of the Jes'sakkĭd', and through him, with numerous other malevolent man'idōs, especially the Animiki', or thunder-bird. When the prophet has seated himself within his lodge the structure begins to sway violently from side to side, loud thumping noises are heard within, denoting

[97] Dr Leslie Spier suggested this parallel.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

535
756
796

the arrival of man'idōs, and numerous voices and laughter are distinctly audible to those without. Questions may then be put to the prophet and, if everything be favorable, the response is not long in coming.[98]

"Startling tales are told how the Jes'sakkĭd' can, in the twinkling of an eye, disengage himself of the most complicated tying of cords and ropes, etc." In a specific instance, a rope was securely tied about the performer's ankles, knees, wrists, and waist. He was then carried to the lodge, placed inside and the flap separating him from the audience was allowed to fall. After a few minutes, during which the lodge swayed and loud noises were heard, the performer called to the audience and announced that the rope would be found in a house nearby. Upon investigation it was found as predicted, tied with knots like those used to bind the performer.[99]

"A prophet will prepare himself by smoking and making an offering to his man'idō, and by singing a chant."[100]

The presence of this complex among the Plains Ojibwa has been noted by Skinner.[101] However, he does not mention it for the Plains Cree. The parallels between this performance and that of the Kutenai and Colville are so obvious that it would be presumptuous to point them out in detail. It may be added, however, that the Ojibwa practice of using a particular spirit as an intermediary between man and all the other spirits is an exact duplicate of Kutenai usage, not only in the formalized seance but generally. The profound implications of these parallels are beyond the scope of this discussion. I hope to examine them in detail in the near future.

Certain elements of the complex, however, show definite local affiliations. The formalism of the ritual resembles that of nearby Plains tribes. The use of the whistle is a specific trait showing Plains linkage. Smudging is found widely in the Spirit Dance of the central Plateau and in Plains ceremonialism. The search for lost objects proceeds by definite ritual among many Plateau groups, becoming a part of the Bluejay complex in some. Among the Sanpoil the Bluejay role is assumed also by those with Owl power; it can hardly be through chance that Owl is the only named character in the Kutenai seance. The trickery employed

[98] Hoffman, *Midē'wiwin*, pp. 157 f.
[99] *Idem*, pp. 198, 277.
[100] *Idem*, p. 253.
[101] Skinner, *Political and Ceremonial Organization*, p. 505.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

535
756
796

may be related to that of the shamanistic demonstrations in the Spirit Dance. The cord around the waist is perhaps akin to the one widely used in the Plateau for holding the shaman while curing. But though one may dispose of elements in this way, the complex remains foreign, and persistently recalls the Ojibwa picture.

The Flathead Spirit Dance

535
796

Just the opposite circumstance to that above is presented by the Flathead Spirit Dance. The organization of the ceremony is typically Plateau in character, but certain aspects differentiate it from other Plateau Spirit Dances, while still other features show affiliation with the Sun Dance of the Plains tribes. The former are treated in another place, the latter below. But it may be well to present here a brief sketch of the dance, since it is not elsewhere available except in distorted version.

The Flathead ceremony was first reported, by Turney-High, under the name "Bluejay Dance," thus reflecting the prominence of the Bluejay complex in its structure.[102] On the basis of Turney-High's data I have elsewhere attempted to show that the dance is merely the familiar Plateau Spirit Dance, telescoped to comprise but four days of activity.[103] Upon visiting the Flathead somewhat later, this interpretation was thoroughly substantiated by native testimony. Furthermore, the dance proved to be of eight rather than four days duration. Although Flathead Bluejay characters play a somewhat greater role than similar characters among groups to the west, their activities are restricted to the sixth and seventh days. Thus during three-fourths the duration of the ceremony there are no distinctive features of the Bluejay complex.

The term applied to the Flathead Spirit Dance is derived from the name of the special lodge in which it is held (stuwɛ'l, the lodge; ɛ'stuwɛlwi, the dance). A single dance is held once each year, in mid-January. The sponsor of the dance is a man who has received a call from his spirit in a vision during the preceding year. As a part of the vision the dance lodge is seen. This visionary may be either a shaman (sxumaliyɛ") or a layman (ɫle·kwi'ltc) but he must, of course, possess a guardian spirit (su·mɛ'c). If two or more persons have such a vision, one of the group is selected as sponsor after the matter has been discussed during the preliminary period of preparation.

[102] Turney-High, *Bluejay Dance*.
[103] Ray, *Bluejay Character*.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

535
796

This formal preliminary period is of four days duration. Each day sweating and singing occupies the mid-afternoon hours. A special sweat house is built for the purpose, holding twelve to fifteen occupants. During the first days the location and other details concerning the lodge are settled, the sponsor selects the center pole and designates one or two men to bring it in, and he names others to prepare the lodge poles. The leader determines the direction and manner in which the strokes should be made in cutting the pole. The expedition is surrounded by ritual practices. Spirit cries are given before actually felling the tree. In bringing it to camp it is carried aloft, never being allowed to touch the ground. From the time this tree is brought in, the sponsor keeps careful watch over it, and over the lodge poles as well, so that their "spirits will not be stolen." During the preparatory period gambling is tabu and feasting is absent. Spirit songs precede each meal because this is an especially vulnerable period. Shamans observe a limited fast.

The dance lodge is erected on the afternoon of the fourth day. This is of the elongated tipi type, being constructed of materials taken from several residential lodges. Upon completion, the leader erects the center pole by fixing it in the ground. The upper limbs of the tree are allowed to remain.

At dusk on the fourth evening the sponsor enters the lodge, singing. Meanwhile, in their individual tipis, the others are dressing and painting for the dance. In each tipi, if possible, a shaman is in attendance to ward off harmful influences. Soon the dancers appear at the dance house, men and women taking places on opposite sides of the room. When all have arrived the leader changes his song and dancing follows. He leads the singing and dancing from his position at the center pole, keeping time with a rattle of deer hoofs fixed to the upper end of a vertically held wand. Drums are not used. All of those in attendance join in the singing and dancing, children included. In speaking to the audience the sponsor and all shamans are served by spokesmen.

After a time the sponsor gives way to another who leads the singing and dancing in similar fashion. Each shaman is given an opportunity to lead. Unnecessary conversation, laughing, eating, and smoking are all tabu except for occasional ritual smoking and talking. Shamans may confer, however, concerning visions and a shaman may describe his visions to the audience. Color and variation are added to the dancing by symbolic regalia and actions and spirit impersonations. The dancing of the evening is ended by a dance in which the participants encircle

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

535
796

the room four times. The dancers return to their lodges but the leader remains.

During the sweating on the afternoon of the fifth day the sponsor announces, "Tonight we shall put out the fires for the Bluejays." Dancers prepare as before, but some paint black spots on their cheeks before going to the dance lodge. The dancing and singing follow the pattern of the preceding evening, until the leader returns to the center pole and shouts, "Now we shall call the Bluejays." A series of four songs is sung; during the last one the dancers utter animal cries and stamp out the fires. A great deal of noise and whistling ensues. Within two or three minutes the leader orders the fires rebuilt. As the fires illuminate the room, several dancers are seen to be absent. The leader addresses the audience (through his spokesman) at intervals during singing: "Our Bluejays will soon be coming; don't laugh at them when they appear."

The Bluejay characters appear with faces, hands, and clothing blackened. These are the ones who earlier painted black spots on the cheeks. Each possesses Bluejay power, the sole requirement for this activity. The characters carry miniature bows and arrows, crudely fabricated during the few moments of absence. They jump and run about erratically, climb onto the rafters of the lodge, and utter shrill, bird-like cries. Some leave the lodge and return with wood for the fires; others fetch water. The audience may now drink, laugh, and converse. Soon the dancing resumes. The dancing is normal except for the Bluejay characters. They sing a song of their own which conflicts in tempo with the dance song, and dance wildly about with no respect for order or time.

One may ask for a pipe. As he smokes, puff by puff, he shouts, "One year; two years; three years," and so forth, until six or seven is reached. This is apparently to speed the passing of time. As the characters dance about they pick up all small articles, such as feathers, strings, and twigs, that are found on the ground. These are secreted in the clothing. Later, a normal dancer may call out, "Let us kill the Bluejay." One or more may be selected in this way: a dancer approaches the character, saying, "Friend, let me care for your property." The Bluejay protests, but after repeated entreaties he gives up, one by one, the articles retrieved from the floor. As his "possessions" are diminished he circles about, faster and faster, shouting, "I'm rich; I'm rich," but meaning, "I'm poor; I'm destitute." Finally, when nothing else is left, he gives up his bow and arrows. Now the dancers say, "Bluejays,

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

535/796 sing for us that we may dance." During the erratic dancing to the irregular singing of the Bluejays, a predetermined dancer grasps the "destitute" character around the waist, a struggle ensues, and finally the Bluejay "dies." He is held head downward, feet in air, by his captor, while the dancers gather round. A smudge is prepared of sweet grass, sometimes mixed with a particular root, and the character is held over it. This brings him to life in normal condition. The black paint is washed off and he once more takes his place among the dancers. He becomes the center of attention as he tells of his "wanderings" while a Bluejay. Thereafter he dances as a normal individual. Some of the characters are allowed to remain untransformed until the following evening. The dance is concluded as on the fourth night.

The evening of the sixth day opens as usual with spirit singing and dancing. Later the ill come for treatment by the remaining Bluejay characters, or by ordinary shamans. These curing procedures are highly ritualized and brief. The power of the Bluejay to cure is restricted, since it is but an attribute of the supernatural form possessed at the moment, together with the power inherent in the center pole. It does not carry over in any way to the individual in normal state. The bulk of the curing associated with the Spirit Dance occurs during the daytime on the seventh day. At this time the services of regular shamans are available.

The dancing and singing of the seventh evening follow the pattern of the fifth night except that wishes for future good fortune are expressed upon the completion of each dance. At a signal by the leader, a shake of his rattle, all present give simultaneous verbal expression to their individual wishes. Sometimes the leader calls for the expression of a particular wish in unison, for example, "Throughout the following year may we have no illness that will cause us to lose blood."

[431] Toward the end of the evening the leader calls for presents to the center pole. Each person takes some small token to the pole and expresses a wish as he deposits it. Along with these gifts are placed the clothing torn from the Bluejay characters at the time of transformation. Now a dance ensues during which the leader shakes his rattle first toward one person and then another. The dancer indicated approaches the tree, gives it a slight tug, and expresses a wish. With the conclusion of the dance the leader pulls the pole from the ground and places it in the care of two or three dancers.

On the following morning the crowd assembles; the pole, together

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

535 796 [431]

with the presents, is removed from the dance lodge and carried into the woods by those to whom its care was entrusted. The latter return shortly to the dance lodge and a period of indiscriminate dancing occurs while the lodge is dismantled, thus ending the ceremony.[104]

THE RELATION OF THE SUN DANCE TO THE SPIRIT DANCE

796 [177]

In recent years it has become increasingly apparent that the Guardian Spirit Dance is not wholly unrelated to the Sun Dance. But the conviction has been born of reminiscent details and general impressions; substantial and sufficient data for the demonstration of the relationship have been lacking. It has long been known, however, that one Plateau tribe, the Kutenai, shares the Sun Dance with its Plains neighbors, the Blackfoot and the Sarsi. But beyond the bare fact of possession, we have remained quite ignorant. Until very recently we have suffered an equal lack of knowledge of the Flathead, who adjoin the Kutenai on the south and are the easternmost of the Plateau tribes. It has been generally assumed, however, that the Flathead did not participate in the Sun Dance. The Nez Percé, who lie south of the Flathead and are the southernmost of the Plateau tribes bordering the Plains, definitely lack the Sun Dance.

Obviously, then, the Kutenai and the Flathead are the groups indicated for study if the ceremonial relationship suggested for the larger areas is to be critically examined.

But before presenting specific data it may be well to review certain general features of the Plateau Spirit Dance which have a bearing on the problem. Superficially, the Guardian Spirit Dance exhibits very few similarities to the Sun Dance. The dance is invariably held in the winter, and actual dancing occurs only at night. The dances usually extend over a period of two months, though they are divided into units of four or five days. Sponsorship is typically the prerogative of shamans, though laymen may act as nominal sponsors at the time of initiation. All persons with spirit power participate; others act as spectators. All dances, songs, and individualistic regalia are symbolic of the various spirits of the dancers. As far as motivation may be generalized, it is concerned with the creation of a more intimate bond between a man and his tute-

[104] The relationship of this complex and its elements to the comparable ceremonies of other Plateau groups is discussed in Ray, *Bluejay Character;* the relation with the Sun Dance is considered in the following section of this paper.

The Colvilles have a game, alkollock, played with spears. A wooden ring some three inches in diameter is rolled over a level space between two slight stick barriers about forty feet apart; when the ring strikes the barrier the spear is hurled so that the ring will fall over its head; and the number scored by the throw depends on which of six colored beads, attached to the hoop's inner circumference, falls over the spear's head.[185] The almost universal Columbian game of guessing which hand contains a small polished bit of bone or wood is also a favorite here, and indeed the only game of the kind mentioned; it is played, to the accompaniment of songs and drumming, by parties sitting in a circle on mats, the shuffler's hands being often wrapped in fur, the better to deceive the players.[186] All are excessively fond of dancing and singing; but their songs and dances, practiced on all possible occasions, have not been, if indeed they can be, described. They seem merely a succession of sounds and motions without any fixed system. Pounding on rude drums of hide accompanies the songs, which are sung without words, and in which some listeners have detected a certain savage melody. Scalp-dances are performed by women hideously painted, who execute their diabolical antics in the centre of a circle formed by the rest of the tribe who furnish music to the dancers.[187]

524 533 535

whole stud, his household goods, clothes, and finally his wives; and a single heat doubles his fortune, or sends him forth an impoverished adventurer. The interest, however is not confined to the individual directly concerned; the tribe share it with him, and a common pile of goods, of motley description, apportioned according to their ideas of value, is put up by either party, to be divided among the backers of the winner.' *Stevens*, in *Pac. R. R. Repl.*, vol. i., pp. 404. 412. 'Running horses and foot-races by men, women and children, and they have games of chance played with sticks or bones;' do not drink to excess. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 237, 406. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.* pp. 557; *Franchère's Nar.*, p. 269. 525

[185] *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 310–11.

[186] The principal Okanagan amusement is a game called by the voyageurs 'jeu de main,' like our odd and even. *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, p. 463. It sometimes takes a week to decide the game. The loser never repines. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 308–11; *Stuart's Montana*, p. 71. 524

[187] Among the Wahowpums 'the spectators formed a circle round the dancers, who, with their robes drawn tightly round the shoulders, and divided into parties of five or six men, perform by crossing in a line from one side of the circle to the other. All the parties, performers as well as spectators, sing, and after proceeding in this way for some time, the spectators join, and the whole concludes by a promiscuous dance and song.' The Walla Wallas 'were formed into a solid column, round a kind of hollow 535

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

All are habitual smokers, always inhaling the smoke instead of puffing it out after the manner of more civilized devotees of the weed. To obtain tobacco the native will part with almost any other property, but no mention is made of any substitute used in this region before the white man came. Besides his constant use of the pipe as an amusement or habit, the inland native employs it regularly to clear his brain for the transaction of important business. Without the pipe no war is declared, no peace officially ratified; in all promises and contracts it serves as the native pledge of honor; with ceremonial whiffs to the cardinal points the wise men open and close the deliberations of their councils; a commercial smoke clinches a bargain, as it also opens negotiations of trade.[188]

The use of the horse has doubtless been a most powerful agent in molding inland customs; and yet the introduction of the horse must have been of comparatively recent date. What were the customs and character of these people, even when America was first discovered by the Spaniards, must ever be unknown. It is by no means certain that the possession of the horse has materially bettered their condition. Indeed, by facilitating the capture of buffalo, previously taken perhaps by stratagem, by introducing a medium with which at least the wealthy may always purchase supplies, as well as by rendering practicable long migrations for food and trade, the

square, stood on the same place, and merely jumped up at intervals, to keep time to the music.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 526, 531. Nez Percés dance round a pole on Sundays, and the chiefs exhort during the pauses. *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, pp. 101–2, 245. In singing 'they use *hi, ah,* in constant repetition,.....and instead of several parts harmonizing, they only take eighths one above another, never exceeding three.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 242–3. 'The song was a simple expression of a few sounds, no intelligible words being uttered. It resembled the words *ho-ha-ho-ha-ho-ha-ha-ha*, commencing in a low tone, and gradually swelling to a full, round, and beautifully modulated chorus.' *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 106. Chualpay scalp-dance. *Kane's Wand.*, p. 315. Religious songs. *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 338–40; *Palmer's Jour.*, p. 124.

[188] De Smet thinks inhaling tobacco smoke may prevent its injurious effects. *Voy.*, p. 207. In all religious ceremonies the pipe of peace is smoked. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 288–9. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 286; *Hines' Voy.*, p. 184. 'The medicine-pipe is a sacred pledge of friendship among all the northwestern tribes.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 220.